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ABSTRACT

In 1987, the Oregon Legislature passed House Bill 2020, the School Improvement and Professional Development Program. Designed to encourage innovation and professional development in a select number of Oregon schools, this act was intended to upgrade educational quality and create models for other state schools. Rather than evaluating program success or individual school efforts, this Bulletin examines the 2020 schools as "living laboratories" that demonstrate how educators are translating the rhetoric of site-based decision-making and school restructuring into action. The Bulletin begins by discussing the 2020 grant process, its objectives, procedures, and requirements. Chapter 2 describes how the analysis of goal statements was carried out for the 51 schools awarded grants for the 1990-91 school year. Chapter 3 discusses grant proposal content derived from current analysis performed on all new and continuation grants funded for 1990-91, interviews with principals and site committee members at 14 selected sites, and more intensive onsite work at several 2020 schools. Chapter 4 relates these findings to current research and policy discussions on site-based decision making and school restructuring. The final chapter discusses pitfalls to school restructuring gleaned from this research and from observations nationwide. An appendix lists names and addresses of participating schools. (50 references) (MLH)

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Lessons from Laboratories in School Restructuring and Site-Based Decision-Making

Oregon's '2020' Schools Take Control of Their Own Reform

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David T. Conley

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Preface

Discussions of school restructuring and site-based management are quickly moving from the conceptual to the practical level as various experiments are undertaken in these areas.

Restructuring and site-based management, when they were in the form of concepts and abstractions, were particularly appealing as potential solutions to many of education's seemingly intractable problems. Now that these concepts are being translated into programs, both their strengths and limitations are becoming more apparent.

This issue of the OSSC Bulletin explores Oregon's "2020" schools and considers the lessons they offer educators who strive to understand restructuring and site-based management. The analysis contained here is not an evaluation of the effectiveness of these schools, nor of the impact of these programs on student learning, but a consideration of what occurs when the state encourages, rather than mandates, innovation and participatory decision-making at the local level. This paper hopes to provide information to policy-makers at the local and state level, as well as to school people who might be undertaking these sorts of experiments. The lessons from the 2020 schools reveal a great deal about how schools turn the concepts of site-based management and restructuring into programs, and, in selected cases, how they are making them work successfully.

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Introduction

In 1987, the Oregon Legislature passed House Bill 2020, the School Improvement and Professional Development Program. This act was designed to encourage innovation and professional development in a select number of Oregon schools, with the hope that two things would occur: that students in those schools would directly benefit by receiving a higher quality education, and that these schools could serve as both laboratories and models, pointing the way to improved educational practice for other Oregon schools.

For this reason alone the 2020 schools are worthy of investigation and discussion. However, there are two other reasons to examine these schools. One is that they provide one of the best settings in which to ascertain what effect site-based decision-making may have on schools. The 2020 grant application process was designed so that sites had to employ techniques advocated in most approaches to decentralized decision-making. For this reason, the decisions, strategies, and goals adopted by these schools are of particular interest.

A second, equally interesting area of investigation on which the 2020 schools offer a unique perspective is how schools are conceptualizing the elusive and often ambiguous idea of restructuring. This is also an objective of the 2020 legislation—to encourage schools to begin whatever it is they define as restructuring. The choices these schools have made serve to operationalize the concept of restructuring, to move it from the theoretical to the concrete, from the realm of discussion to the reality of observation and analysis.

It is not the intent of this study to evaluate or judge the success of the 2020 program, or of individual schools in terms of their effect on student learning or their success in meeting their stated goals. Other projects have been undertaken to address those issues (Paule 1990). This study is predicated on the notion that the 2020 schools are "living laboratories" that demonstrate how educators are translating the rhetoric of site-based decision-making and school restructuring into action. They provide us with a "snap-

shot," with all the richness and detail that such a picture provides. They represent the implementation and adaptation of the idealistic calls for change that seem so simple and sensible when first considered, but prove devilishly complex when translated into practice.

While the 2020 schools may not provide definitive answers about the twin phenomena of site-based decision-making and school restructuring, they provide revealing insights and important examples of how these processes are beginning to play themselves out in practice.

This Bulletin begins with a discussion of the 2020 grant process, its objectives, procedures, and requirements as they relate to an understanding of the phenomena under investigation here. Chapter 2 describes how the analysis of the goal statements was carried out for the fifty-one schools that were awarded 2020 grants for the 1990-91 school year.

Chapter 3 discusses the content of the grant proposals gleaned from content analysis performed on all new and continuation grants funded for the 1990-91 school year, interviews with principals and site committee members at fourteen selected sites, and more intensive onsite work at several 2020 schools. Then in chapter 4 the discussion turns to a more detailed consideration of the relationship of these findings to current research and policy discussions on site-based decision-making and school restructuring. The final chapter consists of a consideration of pitfalls to school restructuring as gleaned from this research and from observations nationwide.

Chapter 1

Origins and Objectives of the H.B. 2020 Program

House Bill 2020 can be seen as an early element in the "second wave" of school reform. This wave began after the initial flood of prescriptive legislation that was passed in the early eighties largely failed to create "excellence" in schools. The net effect of many of these reforms seemed to be to "tidy up" the teaching profession and schools. Cross predicted this outcome in 1984:

> The curriculum will be tidied up, goals will be articulated, standardized tests will control transitions from one level of schooling to another, prospective teachers will study a core of common learnings, and the teacher education curriculum will be restructured to include certain experiences in specified sequences. There is not much evidence that the current mania for tidiness will produce orderly schools in which students and teachers pursue learning with the contagious enthusiasm that is so essential for excellence. (Cross 1984, p. 69; see also Passow 1990)

As the decade wore on, the focus of educational reform shifted from meeting standards and improving achievement test scores to pursuing excellence. As evidence of America's declining economic competitiveness mounted, pressure increased on the educational system to improve drastically. The incremental reforms of the early eighties were not addressing this need.

Policy-Makers and the Second Wave of Reform

Educational reformers who had been pointing out the inherent flaws of the first wave caught the ear of state-level policy-makers in a number of states. John Goodlad, for example, had been arguing that "mandating ways to

improve pupil achievement is at best futile and at worst dangerous, especially as we come to know more about such phenomena" (1987, p. 9; see also Passow 1990). Goodlad and others, such as Mark Tucker, president of the National Center on Education and the Economy, were very influential during this time as policy-makers sought to develop new strategies in the wake of the apparent failure of the first wave of reforms.

Tucker had been involved previously with the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, which issued one of the early calls for restructuring (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy 1986). This report was considered by many as "a blueprint for stimulating change at the local level by involving those persons who deliver education and schooling" (Passow 1990). Its key points included "the professionalization of teaching, empowerment of teachers, teacher leadership and involvement in decision making, and restructuring the conditions of teaching and school governance" (Passow 1990).

This chronology is particularly important to consider when examining the focus and content of H.B. 2020, since certain key Oregon legislators were very involved in activities sponsored by the Carnegie Commission. The structure and content of H.B. 2020 shows the unmistakable influence of the Carnegie report and other second-wave reformers.

This involvement created a great deal of personal ownership of these concepts and strategies by Oregon legislators. Their commitment helped develop the depth of support necessary to move H.B. 2020 through the legislative process. An additional implication of this level of ownership is that the expectations for the 2020 program run high, and the results from it will be watched closely and analyzed extensively.

Rationale, Objectives, and Procedures of H.B. 2020

The following rationale provide the basis of H.B. 2020:

1. Further initiatives to promote educational excellence in the public schools are of vital importance in increasing student learning and strengthening Oregon's economy.
2. The state should encourage and assist local school districts in their efforts to establish school goals through a process that involves educators and members of the community and to develop effective tools to measure progress against those goals that will increase the public accountability of educational programs.
3. New career opportunities for professional development are desirable to recognize and reward those teachers who have demonstrated mastery of teaching skills, knowledge of their subject matter and other appropriate indicators of professional growth.

4. The establishment of site committees for the school district and for individual schools is desirable to encourage new initiatives in school improvement and shared decision making, the assessment of educational progress, to provide new and expanded opportunities for teachers and to facilitate efforts to restructure the school workplace to provide educators with greater responsibility while increasing their accountability. (Oregon Department of Education 1990a, p. 1)

The marks of second-wave reform are clearly evident in this rationale. They include linking education and economic strength, developing goals at the school level with community involvement, increasing professionalization of teaching through the attainment of higher skill levels by competent teachers, establishing more formal teacher roles in decision-making, and using the term *restructure* to describe the types of changes that should take place.

The objectives of the 2020 program closely parallel the rationale:

1. The development of educational improvement goals for individual schools and school districts.
2. The assessment of the educational progress of school programs and students.
3. The expansion of professional growth opportunities for Oregon teachers.
4. The restructuring of the school workplace to provide teachers with responsibilities and authority commensurate with their status as professionals. (Oregon Department of Education 1990a, p. 1)

There are several incentives for schools to apply to be 2020 schools. The most immediate motivator is the provision of $1,000 per certificated staff member in the 2020 school, to be used for purposes that help the school achieve the goals stated in its grant application. Monies are available for a wide range of professional development activities, including attendance at workshops and conferences, planning time for curriculum development, release time for peer coaching, designation of a teacher as a restructuring coordinator, minigrants for teachers, contracting with consultants, stipends to teachers, and a variety of other activities designed to meet the grant goals. Purchase of equipment and items exclusively for student use is excluded. The grant should sponsor activities that cause teachers to reflect upon their work environment and teaching techniques, become more involved in decision-making, and, ultimately, bring about changes in their classrooms that benefit students.

To apply for a 2020 grant, a school must form a building site committee composed of teachers and building administrators. Parents and classified staff may be included at the discretion of the other committee members. The teachers and administrators on the site committee must be elected by their

peers. A majority must be active classroom teachers, and the principal must be a member of the committee.

The site committee develops "a plan to improve the professional growth and career opportunities of a school's faculty and [to improve] its instructional program and may reflect efforts to explore initiatives in shared decision making" (Oregon Department of Education 1990a, p. 4). The committee reviews and approves the funding of the schoolwide program and any individual strategies or requests for funds from staff members.

Applicants are encouraged to consider certain areas as they develop their grant applications. These include:

1. Providing a greater variety of ways for students to learn;
2. Revising teaching methods, de-emphasizing lecture and memorization, and emphasizing critical thinking and higher order thinking skills;
3. Providing opportunities for school-based decision making;
4. Providing more opportunities for staff to participate in shared decision making;
5. Providing more opportunities for staff development and career development;
6. Providing more opportunities for alternative programs;
7. Providing more opportunities for interaction, collaboration or partnerships with businesses, social agencies and higher education;
8. Providing more opportunities for more interaction and collaboration with parents. (Oregon Department of Education 1990a, p. 5)

The 2020 grant application process represents one of the best examples of a state level program designed to allow decisions to be made at the local level within broadly defined parameters. In this regard it may be a model of how states will move to assume a new relationship with school districts that are becoming increasingly decentralized. Rather than mandating any particular type of change, H.B. 2020 creates opportunities for schools to experiment, gain experience with new types of programs, and develop skills in decision-making at the local level. These sites, in turn, serve as models for other schools within the local district, and throughout the state. This approach to creating "lighthouse" schools is an important strategy in the field of public education, where there is a tendency for educators to play "follow the leader" when it comes to new and innovative programs, methods, and structures.

The next chapter analyzes the goals 2020 schools enumerated in their grant applications and considers these goals in relation to restructuring activities that are occurring throughout the nation.

Chapter 2

A Framework for Analyzing the 2020 Schools' Grant Proposals

The fifty-one schools that received 2020 grants for the 1990-91 school year present an ideal set of cases to examine when attempting to determine the impact of the second wave of reform on schools and education. The program clearly incorporates the notion of state-level guidance and parameters designed to allow and encourage decentralized decision-making and problem-solving at the site level. The relatively few restrictions on the use of funds and the requirement that site committees control those funds contribute to making these schools good test sites for theories of site-based decision-making and school restructuring.

What are the areas upon which 2020 schools chose to focus? What do they see as the key issues and strategies in school restructuring? While the grant guidelines suggest a number of areas, schools are still free to choose among these, alter and adapt them, and translate them into specific programmatic responses. What are these responses and what do they tell us?

All the 2020 grants have passed through at least three screens, in a sense. First, the grant guidelines eliminated many schools not interested in or willing to conform to them. Second, each team that wrote a grant proposal considered and rejected many ideas before settling upon those included in the proposal. And, third, the grant reviewers then had to select among those submitted for consideration. These reviewers were practicing educators knowledgeable in the area of school reform, who, while following specific review criteria, were also exercising judgment and applying additional criteria of significance.

The funded grants, having passed through these three screens, repre-

sent a very good operationalization of the concepts of school-based decision-making and school restructuring, as a result of both conscious and unconscious criteria that were applied to them throughout the process. Given the lack of consensus on the meanings of the terms *site-based decision-making* and *school restructuring*, these fifty-one projects provide unique and valuable insights into the nexus of thinking between state policy-makers and school personnel.

Analyzing the Goals of the 2020 Schools

The fifty-one 2020 grant proposals contain 128 goal statements. Each proposal has between one and five goals. For each goal the school lists a series of activities designed to address or achieve that goal. These activities are listed in varying degrees of detail and specificity. This information on goals and activities provides insights into how teachers and administrators at the site level respond when given the flexibility to develop responses to issues they perceive as important.

To begin to discern patterns among the goals and activities chosen, a content analysis was performed. Twenty-three categories were developed, into which all of each school's goals and accompanying activities were coded. No attempt was made to determine the relative importance of one goal in relation to another, or to pass judgment on the efficacy or likelihood of success of the activities selected to accompany the goal.

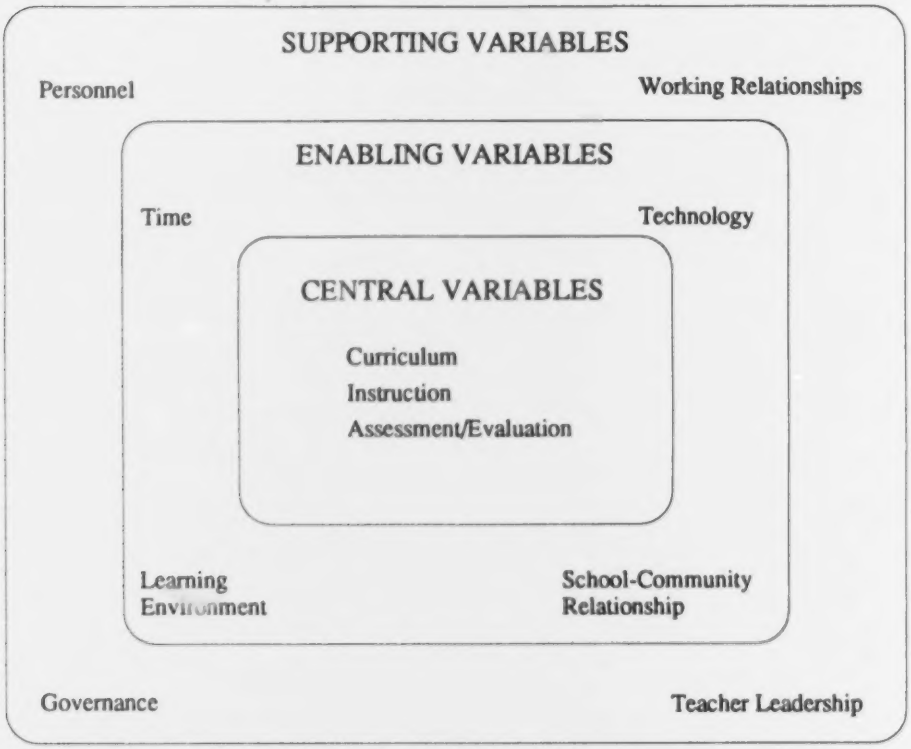
As a further step in the analysis, the twenty-three categories were regrouped under eleven dimensions of restructuring developed by the author (David Conley 1991). These eleven dimensions are divided, in turn, into three groupings: three central variables of restructuring that focus directly on student learning, four enabling variables capable of enhancing the learning process rather directly, and four supporting variables that hold the potential to restructure education but are further removed from the classroom. Figure 1 illustrates these levels of restructuring.

The three central variables are (1) curriculum, (2) instruction, and (3) assessment and evaluation. The four enabling variables consist of (4) time, (5) technology, (6) learning environment, and (7) school-community relations. The four supporting variables include (8) governance, (9) working relationships, (10) personnel, and (11) teacher leadership.

Dimensions of Restructuring

A brief consideration of these eleven dimensions and their relevance

Figure 1
Dimensions of Restructuring



Source: David Conley (1991)

to site-based decision-making and school restructuring follows.

Central Variables

There has been a tendency for the school reform and restructuring movement to avoid the central variables of curriculum, instruction, and assessment and evaluation. This is not surprising, given the remarkable capacity for change in education to be absorbed, rechannelled, or diffused before it reaches the classroom (Cuban 1990, Tye 1987). This appears to be what occurred with many of the reforms of the early eighties.

Since the "second wave" of reform was designed to help ensure that changes did occur in classrooms and schools and that those changes were institutionalized, it seems particularly important to examine the goals and activities of 2020 schools that addressed these areas. With its emphasis on the school and teacher, H.B. 2020 would seem to hold greater promise for bringing about changes in the central variables than many other experiments in site-based decision-making that lacked ties to the classroom and learning.

Enabling Variables

The four enabling variables of time, technology, learning environment, and school-community relations have great potential to reshape education, depending on how they are related to the three central variables. For example, changes in the schedule of the school day may lead to significant new forms of learning. Or such changes may simply result in lectures of greater duration. Changes in the enabling variables must be carefully linked to the central variables to ensure that enhanced student learning occurs.

The technology variable incorporates all uses of technology within schools, without addressing their ultimate impact on learning. Some strategies transfer existing instructional techniques and materials to machines; others open new vistas on learning, the learner's relation to knowledge, and the relationship between teacher and learner.

Changes in the learning environment include innovations such as schools within schools, multiage and heterogeneous grouping strategies, keeping a group of students with one teacher for several years, moving education beyond the classroom walls, and other techniques that redefine the context and conditions of learning within the classroom.

The relationship between the school and community is now recognized as critical to student success. This variable examines changes in parental roles, involvement in schools by the business community, school-business partnerships, and other dimensions of schools' relation to the communities in which they exist.

Supporting Variables

The supporting variables of governance, working relationships, personnel arrangements, and teacher leadership have been the focus of much of the discussion of school restructuring. Altering governance structures, in particular, has been synonymous with restructuring in the minds of many educators. Such alterations generally involve the establishment of a committee, or committees, at the building level that has some level of authority to make decisions as well as advise. The specific areas and degree of responsibility may vary extensively from school to school. This variable captures some of what has been labelled "teacher empowerment," though elements of this concept fall within the variable of teacher leadership, as well.

The variable working relationships refers to the formal relationships, such as traditional collective bargaining, that are being questioned and modified, partly in response to the decentralization of decision-making and the changing role of teachers within schools. Often this variable is evidenced in changes both in the manner in which negotiations are conducted and in moves to develop more collaborative means of resolving policy-related

issues separate from financial and working conditions issues.

The changing and expanding roles of teachers are captured in the variable teacher leadership. In addition to roles such as mentor or lead teacher, staff developer, and curriculum developer, many new positions are coming into existence at school sites. Roles such as teacher researcher, entrepreneur, restructuring coordinator, community liaison, and site committee chair, among others, are emerging. These allow teachers to develop and apply new skills and to experience career development and growth without leaving the classroom.

These eleven variables provide a convenient framework for grouping the twenty-three categories into which the goals were analyzed. Such a framework aids in discerning the commonalities among the diverse goals and activities contained in the 2020 grants. It also allows them to be compared to restructuring and site-based decision-making activities occurring throughout the nation.

The twenty-three goal categories are as follows:

1. Academic Achievement
2. Assessment/Evaluation
3. At-Risk
4. Community Involvement
5. Cooperative Learning
6. Curriculum Development
7. Decision Making/Governance
8. Instructional Techniques
9. Interdisciplinary Curriculum
10. Multicultural Issues
11. Restructuring
12. School Climate
13. Self-Esteem
14. Skills of Twenty-First Century
15. Staff Development in Group Processes
16. Staff Development Instructional Techniques
17. Teacher Collaboration
18. Teacher Empowerment
19. Teacher Researcher
20. Technology
21. Thinking Skills
22. Time
23. Vision Building

The categories and their relation to the eleven variables of restructuring are displayed in table 1. Because the ways in which schools chose to implement their goals often encompassed more than one of the variables, there is not a strict correspondence between the twenty-two categories and the eleven variables. Nevertheless, this framework allows for the common elements of the goals to be considered in their own right, as well as to be compared to national trends in school reform.

Table 1
2020 Goals in Relation to Restructuring Variables

Overarching Categories	*(each may appear under more than one of the Restructuring Variables, based on the way it is implemented)*
	Academic Achievement At-Risk Multicultural Education School Restructuring Skills for the Twenty-First Century Vision Building
Restructuring Variables	*Corresponding 2020 Goal Category or Categories*
Curriculum	Curriculum Development Interdisciplinary Curriculum Thinking Skills At-Risk Multicultural Education School Restructuring Skills for the Twenty-First Century Vision Building
Instruction	Academic Achievement Instructional Techniques Staff Development—Instructional Techniques Cooperative Learning Thinking Skills Technology At-Risk School Restructuring Skills for the Twenty-First Century Vision Building

Table 1
2020 Goals in Relation to Restructuring Variables
(continued)

Assessment/Evaluation	Assessment/Evaluation Academic Achievement School Restructuring Skills for the Twenty-First Century Vision Building
Time	Time School Restructuring Vision Building
Technology	Technology School Restructuring Vision Building
Learning Environment	School Climate Self Esteem At-Risk Multicultural Education School Restructuring Special Education Vision Building
School/Community Relations	Community Involvement Vision Building
Governance	Decision Making/Governance Staff Development-Group Process Vision Building
Working Relationships	Vision Building
Personnel	
Teacher Leadership	Teacher Collaboration Teacher Researcher Vision Building

Chapter 3

What the Goals and Activities Reveal

The initial reaction upon analyzing the goals is appreciation for the diversity of responses they represent and the richness of the ideas and strategies they demonstrate. Table 2 lists the twenty-three categories of goal/activity statements and shows the number of proposals that fall into each category. For example, the most frequently cited category is staff development in instructional techniques; thirty-four of the fifty-one schools had goals or activities that fell into this category.

What follows is a brief discussion of the activities in these twenty-three categories and their relation to current issues in the areas of school restructuring and site-based decision-making. The intent of this discussion is two-fold: to shed light on the patterns, commonalities, and anomalies present in the way 2020 schools operationalize school improvement and to understand these activities in a broader policy context. The categories are discussed in the order of their frequency as listed in table 2.

Staff Development in Instructional Techniques

The proposals of two-thirds of the schools (thirty-four out of fifty-one) discussed staff development in a variety of different instructional techniques. Clearly, for most schools, the 2020 grant provided an opportunity to expand the realm of instructional techniques they were employing with students.

Some schools specified the type of training they were planning to pursue; others made more general reference to the need to explore new methods of instruction. For those that specified instructional methods in which they were planning to train teachers, the most popular were cooperative learning, whole language, thinking skills, learning styles, and writing

Table 2
Frequency of Appearance of Particular Goals and Activities in 2020 Grant Proposals

Staff Development in Instructional Techniques	34
Community Involvement	28
Application of New Instructional Techniques	26
Teacher Collaboration	24
Curriculum Development	23
Academic Achievement	19
Teacher Empowerment	17
At-Risk Students	16
Cooperative Learning	13
Restructuring	13
Student Self-Esteem	13
Decision Making/Governance	10
School Climate	10
Assessment/Evaluation	10
Teacher Researcher	9
Staff Development in Group Process Skills	9
Interdisciplinary Curriculum	8
Time	8
Thinking Skills	7
Skills for the Twenty-First Century	6
Technology	5
Vision Building	4
Multicultural Issues/Curriculum	3

skills. These are techniques with well-developed training programs and easy access to consultants and materials. Many of them have been popular for some time. The 2020 grants gave these schools the opportunity to pursue these approaches. Given teachers' involvement in the decision to pursue these strategies, it will be interesting to see if they are integrated more fully into schools than many of the instructional-technique training programs of the eighties, such as Elements of Instruction, which were frequently mandated at the district level.

Those schools that did not specify a particular technique indicated that they planned to explore different options and try to match the technique to particular needs of the school's student population. It will be worth observing

what choices these schools make—whether they find new and innovative approaches to instruction, or whether their choices will be from among the packaged and marketed systems familiar to most educators. Studies of the need for change in the area of instruction have concluded that current methods do not involve students actively, nor motivate them adequately (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 1990, Goodlad 1984, Goodlad and Oakes 1988). Some new techniques, such as inquiry or project-centered learning, require new teaching skills that extend well beyond what many of the currently available training programs offer.

School-Community Relations

Over half of the 2020 schools (twenty-eight out of fifty-one) included activities to address the relationship between the school and the home and community. Increasingly, redefining this relationship, and the roles of everyone involved, is seen as a key to improving student learning.

Community involvement strategies mentioned among 2020 schools fell into three categories. Most schools made mention of the establishment of school-business partnerships. These were not specified in detail, but seemed to express a general intent to increase contact with the business community, often for unspecified reasons or toward unspecified goals.

Parent involvement took the form of volunteer work, participation in training activities, and, to a lesser degree, more active involvement in governance. Schools still seem to be casting about for effective avenues for involving parents in schools other than through traditional volunteer duties.

At the same time, it is increasingly important for parents to have more first-hand experiences with schools as schools begin to contemplate fundamental change. If the community does not understand and support the need for basic change in education, such change is unlikely to proceed smoothly. Parents and communities generally seem to possess a subconscious perception of a "deep structure" of schooling that influences and shapes their definition of what school is as an institution (Tye 1987). Proposed changes that run counter to this deep structure will be vigorously challenged and resisted if they are not explained adequately and are insensitive to people's concerns. Community involvement is important for this reason, as well.

Improved Insructional Techniques

While thirty-four schools had plans to conduct training activities to expand the repertoire of instructional skills, twenty-six had specific plans to alter their instructional practices. In part this indicates that a number of

schools were still examining the options available to them. In the case of the twenty-six schools with clear commitment to implementing new instructional techniques, there is frequently seen a closer linkage with other instructionally related goals, including curriculum development, integration of technology, or focus on a particular student population or curricular area.

Teacher Collaboration

Increasing teacher collaboration and decreasing teacher isolation are seen as goals of the "second wave" of school reform. There is ample evidence that schools must address issues of teacher isolation if teaching is to become a more professional endeavor (Evans 1989, Rosenholtz 1989, Rosenholtz and Kyle 1984).

Twenty-four of Oregon's 2020 schools included goals or activities designed to promote teacher collaboration. Chief among these were peer coaching and peer observation. The resources provided by 2020 were used to free teachers from their classrooms to observe other classrooms and to visit other schools. The goals of these peer observation programs seem to be focused less on the acquisition or reinforcement of a particular set of instructional skills than on letting teachers decide what they can learn from one another.

Much of what occurs as a result of the 2020 grant could be expected to increase collaboration. The grant-writing process itself generally requires teams of teachers to work together, since it is extremely difficult for the grant to be written by one person. The numerous curriculum development projects, off-site visitations, committees to administer the grant, and research and vision activities found in many proposals require extensive collaboration among teachers.

While twenty-four schools have specific goals and activities that address collaboration, it could be argued that essentially all 2020 schools have activities that tend to increase collaboration to some degree. This may be one of the most important dimensions of 2020: simply getting people to come out of their classrooms and talk to one another more about what they value, what works, what is frustrating, and how common problems might be solved.

Curriculum Development

Projects involving curriculum development are described in twenty-three grants. These include projects designed to integrate content across traditional subject area boundaries and those that upgrade or update curricu-

lum to make it more relevant to the world students will enter in the twenty-first century. Some projects aim to improve "core" areas of schooling, such as writing, reading, math, and science. Others look at the needs of specific groups of students, particularly those at risk of not succeeding.

In addition to these identifiable projects, many grants have provisions for teachers to apply for and receive minigrants. In some cases the amount of money allocated for these grants is equal to half of the total grant. It can be assumed that many of the activities funded through minigrants will address curriculum development. It will be interesting to note how the results of these projects will be shared with faculty and other Oregon schools. In addition to being vehicles for curriculum development, these grants are, in many ways, a form of teacher empowerment. The broader issue of empowerment will be discussed in more detail later.

Academic Achievement

Academic achievement was taken as a focus by nineteen schools. For many of these sites the goal was to raise scores on standardized achievement tests. Others sought to redefine achievement and to assess it with new methods.

Those schools with a stated goal of improving test scores developed proposals that resembled school improvement strategies seen over the past ten to fifteen years. Their strategies were to concentrate on curriculum that was tested and to improve skills in the delivery of that curriculum. Those that defined improved academic achievement in broader terms employed more integrative strategies that involved an examination of the entire instructional program to a greater degree.

This issue highlights an emerging problem for those schools that are redefining what they mean by *academic achievement*: How can schools move to new techniques of teaching and learning when they employ old methods of evaluation?

Teacher Empowerment

The concept of teacher empowerment is difficult to define precisely. Seventeen schools developed goals and activities designed to empower teachers in a variety of ways. Most often empowerment was seen to embody enhanced involvement by teachers in decision-making, their inclusion in the school's governance, and greater control over the conditions and methods of instruction. Empowerment was seen both as participation in decision-making at the level of the school and ability to retain control over the conditions of

instruction at the classroom level.

While it is conceivable that these two forms of empowerment could conflict, 2020 schools seem to be combining them in a manner such that it is likely that the decisions teachers made at the building level will be reflected by those made in classrooms, and vice-versa. Through the concept of a unifying vision, combined with time for teachers to converse with one another, reflect upon their own teaching, and observe their colleagues, teacher empowerment could serve as a unifying, enabling factor for improvement of education, rather than a fragmenting force encouraging an "every man for himself" mentality, or a teachers versus administration perspective.

It does not appear that empowerment is being viewed as a zero-sum game, where in order for teachers to gain power someone else must relinquish power. Instead, it appears that schools are interpreting power as a form of social capital; its wise investment and development benefits everyone in the system. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that in many schools empowerment has been extended to parents, and, to a lesser degree, students, as well.

At-Risk Students

Of the sixteen schools with a focus on at-risk students, eight were elementary and eight were secondary. This suggests a heightened awareness and increased recognition by elementary schools that early intervention is the key to enhancing student success and reducing dropouts.

Strategies ranged from comprehensive approaches that examined all aspects of the school and the roles of all parties, to those that relied on a new program for dropouts. Schools adopting a comprehensive approach were committed to examining all aspects of their instructional program, discipline procedures, testing and grading procedures and policies, and parental roles.

Less comprehensive strategies generally relied on the creation of a new position or new programs to assume responsibility for dealing with dropouts. In some cases there were attempts to create changes in the regular program to help ensure that these interventions would be supported; in other cases it appeared as if the regular program would continue unchanged and that responsibility for dealing with students who were not succeeding would simply be shifted to the new "at-risk" program or coordinator. It is difficult to ascertain the degree to which the program or person will be able to influence changes in the regular program so that the focus can move from treatment to prevention of failure by at-risk students. It is clear from examination of some of the approaches that schools recognize that this is a complex problem, involving both the school and the home, and it is not likely to be

solved with simple modifications of existing practices.

Cooperative Learning

Cooperative learning proved to be perhaps the most popular instructional intervention adopted by 2020 schools. Thirteen schools specified that training of some sort would be conducted in cooperative learning. Of greatest interest was the fact that, of the thirteen schools, eight were secondary schools. This is an indication of the migration of cooperative learning from the elementary to the secondary level. It has received a positive reaction from elementary teachers over the past five years or so, but has not been greeted by secondary teachers with the same enthusiasm found in their elementary counterparts.

It is also interesting to note that cooperative learning was seen as a means to improve the achievement of at-risk students in approximately half the schools. There is a solid research base that is frequently referenced in popular practitioner-oriented educational journals to support this strategy, which may help explain its frequent inclusion. In many schools one or more teachers may already have attended a workshop on cooperative learning and may be employing cooperative techniques in their classrooms.

In other schools cooperative learning training was contained in a "laundry list" of instructional techniques in which training was to be undertaken. This is consistent with the observation offered earlier that, for most schools, changes in instructional techniques were defined as the central purpose of the grant. It is interesting to conjecture about the likelihood of the implementation of numerous new instructional strategies in relatively short periods of time; will teachers be able to incorporate cooperative learning, critical thinking, learning styles, and other instructional techniques? The research on such attempts has not been encouraging. Perhaps in combination with teacher empowerment and collaboration strategies, 2020 schools will have greater success.

One other important objective of cooperative learning for several schools was the improvement of social skills and self-esteem. It was seen as a technique that would allow for increased success and for more opportunities for students to learn to interact with those different from them.

Restructuring

Another dimension on which goals were analyzed was the frequency with which they included the term *restructure* to describe their intent. No attempt was made to assess whether this term was used appropriately, or

whether the school would be likely to "restructure" successfully based on the activities listed. By taking the schools' language at face value, it is possible to ascertain the variety of meanings the term has and to infer from the strategies the images of a restructured school.

The fact that thirteen schools included the term indicates increasing interest in the concept across a broad spectrum of educational settings. The average size of schools listing restructuring as a goal was greater than the average size of 2020 schools (37.2 FTE vs. 31.7 FTE). This indicates that the larger schools, which tend to be located in urban or suburban areas, are currently more interested in this topic than rural schools.

It should be noted that other schools may have restructuring as their goal, but did not state it explicitly in their 2020 grant applications. As a result, the figure may understate the number of schools that are actually conducting activities they believe constitute restructuring. Further analysis to be conducted based on additional data may lead to a change in this number.

What did restructuring mean to these thirteen schools? As one might expect, the meaning varied. However, one observation of interest is that the schools that employed this term in a goal statement tended to have proposals that were among the most comprehensive and future-oriented. Most were not attempting to solve a single problem, but were adopting a broad view of their school and the appropriateness, as well as the efficacy, of their program. In several cases they clearly understood that they were beginning a journey whose conclusion was not in sight. Their efforts reflected this sense of both implementing new programs and continuing to reflect, analyze, and develop their new vision of education.

Changes in governance structures, the most common definition of restructuring, were seen here exclusively as a means to ends, not ends in themselves. Such structural modifications were tied closely to desired changes in programs in the areas of curriculum and instruction primarily. Some of the supporting variables, such as the structure of the school day and the use of technology, while referenced, are clearly seen as techniques to move schools toward fundamental change; they are not seen as restructuring by themselves.

The presence of vision-building is clear in many of these schools. They understand the importance of developing a comprehensive vision toward which they are headed before identifying specific activities. As a result, these schools are including activities that allow for the development of the vision, such as teacher collaboration and empowerment, site visitations, teacher researcher activities, study groups to examine societal trends, and new ideas both inside and outside of education.

Student Self-Esteem

Student self-esteem is perceived as an area worthy of attempts at improvement, at least in thirteen of the 2020 schools. Self-esteem is an elusive concept, difficult to define precisely, difficult to quantify, and difficult to change. Nevertheless, these thirteen schools took on the task of raising student self-esteem through a variety of strategies. In fact, the variety of activities is so great that it is very difficult to make any generalizations about them. Some schools strove to enhance student achievement as the foundation for improved self-esteem, while others tried to increase the personal interactions between students and staff as a primary strategy. Other than these two strands, activities fell into almost every category.

It may be worth considering at some point the degree to which public education is able to address this variable. Schools can and must be (or become) places where students feel valued, respected, and cared for. They must also be places where students challenge and test their abilities in ways that allow them to feel a sense of genuine satisfaction when they succeed and to receive support when they do not. To accomplish this goal will be extremely difficult when one of the key assumptions underlying education is that of the "normal curve," the idea that ability is allotted in a bell-shaped form. As long as schools continue to fulfill the social sorting function that was valued in the industrial era, they will, by definition, be unable to create environments where all students can succeed. Lacking the ability to succeed, the self-esteem of some students will suffer. It is interesting to note that none of the 2020 schools mentioned any activities designed to move entire schools to any type of success-based model of education. Very few included practices aimed at recognizing developmental differences among children, and those that did had projects that were confined to the primary grades.

The 2020 schools are not alone in struggling with this seemingly paradoxical problem. A survey of 21,000 American teachers conducted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1990) indicated that 39 percent of respondents agreed with the statement "Public schools cannot really expect to graduate more than about 75% of all students." This was nearly double the 21 percent who agreed with the statement in 1987.

Jeannie Oakes and Martin Lipton consider the issue of differential expectations for student achievement in their analysis of American schools:

> The best schools are those in which *all* children—not just a few—are believed to be capable, where all are offered rich learning opportunities, held to rigorous intellectual standards, and expected to succeed. (1990)

Governance and Decision-Making

Changes in school governance structures and decision-making roles have been frequently defined as restructuring. Ten of the 2020 schools addressed this variable explicitly. By the nature of the way that 2020 grant applications are written, it is necessary to link governance changes to student learning outcomes. As a result, most of the governance-oriented goals are linked in some manner to changes in curriculum and instructional outcomes.

The 2020 process also provides several natural ways for teachers to become involved in governance decisions in areas such as expenditure of grant funds, development of grant goals, approval of teacher minigrant requests, and so forth. The 2020 site committee can provide a forum where issues in participatory decision-making are explored, skills are acquired, and new roles are developed.

A number of schools had already begun developing new governance structures before receiving 2020 grants. In these schools, 2020 projects seem to be integrated more easily. Teachers work to develop consensus for ideas and goals before they are implemented. There are numerous opportunities for teachers, and parents, to have input into decisions before they are made. Although this does not eliminate conflict completely, it helps to ensure that the 2020 goals will be pursued in a more integrated manner, not relegated to a specific program or group of faculty members where the goals have less impact on the school as a whole.

Policy analysts at the national level have noted that there is danger in defining restructuring solely in terms of changes in governance without examining connections to curriculum and instruction, or in terms of developing new modes of decision-making without investing them with genuine, clearly defined responsibilities. Shulman observes,

> For too many people, restructuring has become an end in itself. They've lost sight of the fact that the purpose is not empowerment, but enablement, not to give teachers more power but the ability to respond more appropriately to kids. (Olson 1988)

The prospect of fundamental changes in education being achieved through changes in governance and decision-making structures alone is not bright. Mark Tucker of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy notes that "a lot of people have equated restructuring with site-based management or shared decision-making. I think districts who follow that are headed for disaster" (O'Neil 1990, p. 9).

School Climate

Activities to improve school climate were very popular in the late seventies and early eighties. While ten schools had this as a goal, their objectives were frequently different from previous climate improvement projects, which focused on determining why people (teachers, students, parents) were unhappy or dissatisfied, and then tried to reduce these feelings through a variety of strategies and activities.

Many 2020 schools are viewing changes in school climate in ways that represent shifts in norms and values within their buildings. They talk about "creating a new climate for" any number of new ideas or approaches to education. This may be interpreted as attempting to reshape the culture of the school—not an easy task.

Efforts to address climate are confined to the larger schools. The average number of teachers in schools with climate goals was 42.9, versus 31.7 for all 2020 schools. This was due at least in part to the fact that four of the nine high schools were addressing issues of climate. This is not surprising, given the size and complexity of high schools as organizational environments and the historic difficulty of altering their norms and values. Efforts to bring about change in these schools encompass a wide range of activities. They are not a tightly integrated set of interventions or programs, but rather an array of strategies that attempt to reshape behaviors and values on a number of levels.

Assessment/Evaluation

Developing alternative forms of assessing and evaluating learning will be critical if schools are ever to change their curricular and instructional programs. What we measure as learning drives what we teach in our classrooms. One of the problems of restructuring has been that many restructuring experiments continue to measure success in terms of improved standardized achievement test scores or other conventional measures. This creates a paradox: How can one define success in a restructured learning environment as improvement on the old measures of learning, when those measures are keyed to the very instructional systems that the new learning strategies are supposed to be replacing? The only way to avoid this is to develop new assessment strategies.

While there are numerous projects to develop new techniques and technologies of assessment being undertaken nationally, the 2020 schools by and large remain caught in the assessment paradox. Although ten schools did identify the development of assessment strategies as a goal, the figure overstates somewhat the number of schools that are genuinely exploring new

approaches. No more than three or four schools may be seriously investigating alternative forms of assessment at this point.

This lack of linkage between changes in curriculum and instruction and changes in assessment is disturbing when the long-term prospects for 2020 projects are considered. If 2020 schools are not able to demonstrate that they have made a difference in student learning, it is difficult to see how support for the ideas and programs generated in them will be sustained, or how they will be disseminated.

Nationally, the changing focus of assessment is moving from educational inputs (number of teachers, class size, hours or days spent in a class, credits accumulated toward graduation, number of books in a library) to outputs (the demonstration of knowledge in an applied manner; what the student can do at the end of the educational experience).

According to Finn (1990), this emphasis on outcomes signals a paradigm shift in education. Assessment results will become much more important in this environment and will need to go far beyond paper and pencil tests to measures that gauge performance—the ability to do things—more precisely. Finn captures this shifting conception:

> Under the *old* conception..., education was thought of as process and system, effort and intention, investment and hope. To improve education meant to try harder, to engage in more activity, to magnify one's plans, to give people more services, and to become more efficient in delivering them.
>
> Under the *new* definition, now struggling to be born, education is the result achieved, the learning that takes root when the process has been effective. *Only* if the process succeeds and learning occurs will we say that *education* has happened. Absent evidence of such a result, there is no education—however many attempts have been made, resources deployed, or energies expended. (1990, p. 586)

The revised California Assessment Program (CAP) provides valuable insight into the direction such integrative, outcome-based assessment is heading. California was the first state in the nation to adopt performance-based assessment instead of multiple-choice measures. The newly adopted guidelines for performance-based assessment in language arts, mathematics, science, and history-social studies demonstrate a commitment to measure what students can do through "performances or actual solutions to problems and writing exercises" (EDCAL 1991). These tests attempt to assess student knowledge and ability in the following ways:

Language Arts

- Reflects the meaning-centered, literature-based curriculum described in the English-Language Arts Framework.
- Requires students to construct their own meanings, integrating new

insights with the unique knowledge and experience each brings to the task.

- Integrates reading, writing, speaking, and listening in ways that are natural to good instruction.
- Features teacher-designed instructional materials, test items, and scoring systems and brings teachers together for scoring of the assessment.

Mathematics

The open-ended questions in the math assessment:

- Present students with a situation that is engaging.
- Allow students at various levels of ability and experience to respond to problems with multiple entry points.
- Encourage creative responses by permitting students to investigate several paths to a solution or find multiple solutions.
- Direct students to write for an audience so they can demonstrate their abilities in effective communication.

Science

- Provides opportunities for students to find connections among scientific concepts and principles.
- Encourages students to discover and construct, through inquiry and investigation, the important ideas of science.
- Engages students in science thinking processes embedded in content.
- Enables students to move beyond the activity to apply knowledge and conceptual understanding.
- Allows students to demonstrate understanding by doing—by designing and performing investigations that ask them to observe, measure, classify, sort, infer, detect patterns, formulate hypotheses, and interpret results.

History-Social Science

- Enables students to demonstrate knowledge of history.
- Incorporates multicultural perspectives and interdisciplinary approaches, especially with art and literature.
- Encourages ethical understanding and civic virtue.
- Emphasizes democratic values embodied in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights.
- Promotes knowledge and cultural awareness through study of history, the humanities, geography, and social sciences. (EDCAL 1991, p. 2)

Teacher Researcher

A new and intriguing role for teachers is that of researcher. Nine schools included activities where teachers are researching questions of practice. They are investigating the veracity of assumptions about students and programs, the efficacy of techniques, and the utility of pilot programs. These activities are indicators of how teacher leadership might be evolving in schools with increased collegiality and participatory decision-making. Bracey (1991) discusses this emerging role of teacher as researcher:

> Best defined as systematic intentional inquiry (all three words are important), teacher research to improve practice usually begins with the perception of a gap between the current state of affairs and a more desirable state.
>
> In its simplest form, teacher researcher requires no more than that the teacher collect information for use with a particular class—with no thought given to future classes or to generalizing the data collected. At the other extreme, the research resembles the formal studies found in professional journals. In between fall a variety of techniques, such as the keeping of logs, the sharing of essays and observations, observing and being observed by other teachers, and being videotaped....
>
> Lieberman and Miller (1990) argue that teachers must also be learners and that this requires teachers to engage in the sustained inquiry of researchers. They enumerate five elements deemed essential to supporting such inquiry: 1) norms of colleagueship, openness and trust; 2) opportunities and time for disciplined inquiry; 3) teacher learning of content in context; 4) reconstruction of leadership roles; and 5) networks, collaborations and coalitions. (p. 404)

This is a role with untapped potential. The 2020 schools that are employing this role seem to be exploring its potential. There are not explicit, detailed plans for the types of research to be conducted, but rather a commitment to examine practice, review literature, and collect data in systematic ways on questions of interest. If schools are to become managed at the site level and if alternative forms of assessment geared more closely to the school's goal are to emerge, the role of teacher as researcher will be critical in helping to establish the efficacy of current practice and generating possible solutions to problems in practice.

Staff Development in Group Processes

One of the implications of increased teacher involvement in decision-making is the potential need for training in such group process skills as

consensus building, conflict management, agenda-setting, team building, and goal-setting. Traditionally these skills have not been taught in teacher training programs, nor have they been developed in practice throughout the careers of most teachers. Schools, while not blatantly authoritarian, have not been particularly democratic in their governance. Teacher professionalism continues to be more of a goal than an accomplishment.

The second-wave reform efforts of the late eighties have been formulated in a manner that, if implemented, would lead to greater teacher empowerment and professionalism. However, there is a lack of awareness of the specifics involved in reshaping the norms and roles that teachers hold concomitant with the structural changes in areas such as governance. Simply creating a site committee charged with making decisions does not guarantee that the process will work any more smoothly or lead to any better decisions than the previous structure. What is needed is careful development and nurturing of these new structures and institutions. One critical factor in their care and feeding is the provision of adequate training in a variety of group process techniques.

Nine schools are providing training activities in a variety of group process skills. Training is being offered in the following areas: personal effectiveness, personal communications/relations, collaborating, team building, intergroup communications, decision-making, consensus building, leadership, group process, conflict resolution, quality circles, participative management, and long-range planning.

It is interesting to note that only nine schools chose to include this sort of training in their grant proposals. One would conjecture that group process issues are relevant to many more schools, particularly given the fact that the site committee is directly involved in approving the distribution of funds from the grant. Access to scarce resources in educational settings is a potentially conflict-laden role.

One trend found among schools that included such training is that they tend to be larger schools. The average number of teachers at schools including process training is 48, versus an average of 31.7 staff members for all 2020 schools. Larger schools recognized the need for such training to be conducted in a formal, systematic manner. In smaller schools informal communication channels may help diffuse some of the potential conflict and decrease the need for such training. Or it may be that in certain schools the 2020 activities are confined to some subgroup of staff members, thereby eliminating conflict within the school as a whole. This area raises several questions for further investigation.

Interdisciplinary Curriculum

Interdisciplinary curriculum has arisen as one of the most-discussed strategies for modernizing the fragmented, cluttered course of study present in most American schools. Many attempts are now under way throughout the nation to integrate content, both horizontally among subject areas and vertically among grade levels. More and more of the professional organizations in the content areas are offering new guidelines and goals for the organization of their subject areas (American Association for the Advancement of Science 1990, Commission on Standards for School Mathematics 1989, Curriculum Task Force of the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools 1989, National Research Council 1989). These guidelines attempt to integrate mastery of material with the thought processes necessary to understand and apply the content.

Eight 2020 schools listed projects designed to create increased curriculum integration. Of the eight schools, six were secondary schools, indicating the need to examine traditional assumptions about the departmentalization of knowledge into discrete subject areas or disciplines. All the suggested approaches fall into three of six categories of interdisciplinary teaching offered by Jacobs (1989). These three are:

> *Parallel Discipline Design.* Teachers sequence their lessons to correspond to lessons in the same area in other disciplines.
>
> *Complementary Discipline Units or Courses.* Certain related disciplines are brought together in a formal unit or course to investigate a theme or issue.
>
> *Interdisciplinary Units/Courses.* Periodic units or courses of study deliberately bring together the full range of disciplines in the school's curriculum. The units/courses employ a full array of discipline-based perspectives.

Secondary schools have tended to develop parallel and complementary discipline designs. A few elementary schools are attempting to include some interdisciplinary units as an element of what they are calling "developmentally appropriate" classrooms, where students of varying ages learn together through projects that incorporate knowledge from a number of disciplines. The 2020 grants have provided the time necessary for teachers to meet and plan such units and for them to critique and modify them as they are piloted.

Time

Changing the allocation of time in schools is another area that has

received attention in education reform circles. It offers a low-cost, or no-cost, strategy through which different learning arrangements might be created. The eight 2020 schools that chose to look at alternative arrangements of time include six secondary schools and two elementary schools. Two are planning flexible scheduling, three will employ a block scheduling plan, and three will explore the possibilities of restructuring time.

One of the problems with altering time within schools is that it generally will affect all teachers, those who support changes and those who are less enthusiastic. For that reason, it is often more difficult to implement as a reform strategy than programs that affect only a subgroup of teachers and students.

One other issue that is important to consider but often overlooked when changing time structures is the necessity of providing time, support, and resources for teachers to adapt their instructional strategies to fit the new approach to time allocation. For teachers who have developed all of their lessons and teaching techniques to conform to 50-minute blocks of time, it can be very disconcerting suddenly to have, say, 180 minutes available. For some teachers, this creates a feeling of panic rather than opportunity. They should be provided with support and exposed to ideas that will assist them in seeing not only the potential in the larger block of time, but in identifying specific strategies and materials they might employ to use the new structure to their advantage.

Thinking Skills

Another innovation closely associated with school restructuring is the introduction of programs or techniques designed to encourage the development and use of "higher order thinking skills" to a greater degree by students. Based on analysis of policy trends in American schools over the period 1985-1988, McCune (1989) concludes that most school districts use the term *higher-order thinking skills* to describe movement away from near total reliance on factual information and toward a curriculum based on students constructing meaning, rather than on "routine performance." The incorporation of such programs generally requires changes in both curriculum and instructional strategies.

Seven 2020 schools plan to enhance the development of higher order thinking skills among their students. Most of the goals and activities are general in nature. Those that are more specific include training in a particular approach to thinking skills, such as Tactics for Thinking, from the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Howard Gardner's work in defining seven different types of intelligence is mentioned twice as the

basis for developing a more comprehensive program of thinking skills. In at least one school, thinking skills are the focal point for a comprehensive set of strategies that involve changing curriculum and instructional practices throughout the school.

Skills for the Twenty-first Century

There is little doubt that the world our students will enter is quite different from the one most of us entered when we left school. The skills necessary for employment have changed dramatically. Linda Darling-Hammond (1990) notes that

> in 1900 about half of the nation's jobs required low- or unskilled labor; today, fewer than 10% do. And while fewer than 10% of jobs at the beginning of this century were professional or technical jobs requiring higher education, more than half of the new jobs created between now and the year 2000 will require education beyond high school, and almost one-third will require college degrees. (p. 286)

It is estimated that by the year 2000, nearly 90 percent of the jobs in the U.S economy will be service-related, and that about half will involve the collection, analysis, synthesis, structuring, storing, or retrieving of information (Cetron and others 1988).

Six of the 2020 schools have explicit goals aimed at identifying the skills students will need in the twenty-first century. To identify these skills, schools are employing a variety of strategies:

- surveying employers or local entrepreneurs
- sending teams of teachers on visits to businesses to assess the skills students will need in the future world of business
- attending conferences where skills for the future are discussed
- conducting a symposium where local community leaders and national experts discuss their visions of the future
- developing research teams of teachers that investigate this topic thoroughly

These activities are intended to provide the information necessary to modify their programs to meet some of the expectations present in society about the "new basics" required of students as they enter the work force.

There has been much discussion among employers about this topic. Many lists of desirable skills have been developed. One of the most widely cited is the summary of extensive interviews with employers conducted by the "Workplace Basics" project of the American Society of Training and Development and the U.S. Department of Labor. They found that employers were interested in the following types of skills:

- Employers want employees who can learn the particular skills of an available job—who have "learned how to learn."
- Employers want employees who will hear the key points that make up a customer's concerns (listening) and who can convey an adequate response (oral communications).
- Employers want employees who have pride in themselves and their potential to be successful (self-esteem); who know how to get things done (goal-setting/motivation); and who have some sense of the skills needed to perform well in the workplace (personal and career development).
- Employers want employees who can get along with customers, suppliers or co-workers (interpersonal and negotiation skills); who have some sense of where the organization is headed and what they must do to make a contribution (organizational effectiveness); and who can assume responsibility and motivate co-workers when necessary (leadership). (American Society of Training and Development and U.S. Department of Labor 1990, p. 8)

Technology

Technology has been hailed as far back as the 1950s as the means by which education would be revolutionized. Educational television, its promise unfulfilled, was replaced in the eighties by the computer as the new tool that would transform teaching and learning. It has not yet happened, for a variety of reasons. Still, it is clear that technology will have an increasingly powerful influence on education. The types of technology now extend beyond the television and computer to the videodisk, compact disk, satellite dish, video camera, fax, and other telecommunications technologies.

Given that the 2020 grant process excludes purchase of equipment, it is not altogether surprising that only five schools identified technology-related goals. However, it is nonetheless a bit disturbing that technology does not play a larger role in the instructional process, nor is it seen as an integral part of a program of professional development and school improvement. Perhaps the state of the hardware in most schools simply isn't adequate to support its use as a central strategy or tool for school restructuring. And the current level of training and use displayed by most teachers would not seem to make this an inviting strategy without the investment of considerable resources in this area.

Still, few 2020 schools are investing in the teacher training necessary to develop the skills that would lead to new applications and uses of technology, or in the types of experiments in curriculum or instructional techniques that would add to our understanding of the proper role of technology in our

schools. This is a serious shortcoming of the 2020 program at this point, particularly when one considers that inservice in instructional techniques is being undertaken by two-thirds of the schools and that few of these include inservice in technology as an aspect of their proposal.

Vision Building

The concept of vision building may seem to be amorphous at first examination. Schools identified as being involved in vision building were those that used the term somewhere in their description of their goals and activities. Four schools explicitly identified vision building in their 2020 proposal.

To develop a common vision, the schools are engaged in a wide range of activities. Most of these are designed to allow people to talk with one another about their conceptions of education. Often this is combined with an examination of demographic factors affecting schools and a consideration of programs currently being undertaken to bring about fundamental change in schools.

The common thread to vision building seems to be a commitment to looking both outward and inward to examine what is and is not working as a means to determining what should be occurring. In this sense it is not "school improvement," which attempts to bring about incremental improvement in existing areas.

Whether other 2020 schools are involved in vision building, but do not identify their activities as such, is an open question. There are many indications that school restructuring is more than a series of projects or activities, no matter how innovative (Kirst 1991). Restructuring seems to include an examination of the values of schools and the definitions of education and school held by various constituencies in the educational community, such as teachers, parents, administrators, community leaders, and students. When restructuring is seen as a value-laden process, the focus moves from seeing various projects as ends in themselves to perceiving them as expressions of new educational values. In that sense they represent an operationalization of a vision—a first step in an ongoing, complex process of reshaping schools as institutions.

Given this perspective, vision building becomes much less amorphous. It is a process of examining current values, assumptions, practices, and relationships within the school and between the school and the outside world. It parallels very closely the definition of restructuring offered earlier in this paper. The purpose of vision building is to reach a point where all members of the school community are directing their efforts toward mutually agreed-

upon outcomes and where all understand their role and responsibilities. There are many indications that education is currently suffering from a lack of agreement on its purposes and goals, and on the roles and responsibilities of its various constituencies.

Teachers are often frustrated by what they perceive as a lack of parental support. Parents may feel that schools have not adapted to reflect the changes in family structures and lifestyles. Students may not be willing to perform tasks when they do not understand their purpose. They may also feel that the act of completing school is more important than what is actually learned through the process.

The curriculum of the average school is overloaded and fragmented as it attempts to address a variety of social issues that have become the school's responsibility during the past thirty years. At the same time, of course, schools are expected to focus on "the basics." The role of school as custodial institution is expanding at the same time that parents are less likely to endorse the school serving *in loco parentis*. If a child is disciplined in school, a parent is as likely to sue as to be supportive of the school's action. These types of mixed messages make agreement on the purposes and methods of education difficult and require an examination of values and commitment to a common vision before fundamental change can occur. For this reason, vision-building activities are an extremely important dimension of restructuring.

Multicultural Education

There is ample evidence that American society is experiencing increasing racial and ethnic diversity (Cook 1988, Hoachlander and others 1989, Hodgkinson 1988). In Oregon there is considerable discussion about its role as a "Pacific Rim" state and the potential for economic development and linkages that this role holds. In this context, issues of multicultural understanding and awareness are of increasing importance as an element of the education of all children in the state.

Only three of the 2020 schools had goals that addressed diversity or multiculturalism. One of the three addressed issues of respect for differences between special education and regular education students. The other two specifically addressed the development of multicultural curricula or experiences for students.

Perhaps this pattern should not be surprising in Oregon, where issues of cultural diversity sometimes may seem remote, particularly outside of major urban areas. It is, nonetheless, disconcerting. Oregon's young people will likely live in a variety of locations outside of the state. They will work

for companies owned and managed by foreigners. They will have coworkers and supervisors who are of a different race, culture, religion, or gender than they are. They may form their own businesses, which in many cases will depend on doing business outside of the United States to succeed economically. If their education does not expose them to differing cultural perspectives, nor equip them to deal with people who may be quite different in their values and behaviors, these students will be at a decided disadvantage when they enter a society and work force that is increasingly diverse. The lack of experimentation and program development in this area by Oregon schools should be cause for some concern.

Summary

These twenty-three goal areas provide a glimpse into the thinking of educators at these schools. It suggests the options they see available to them to restructure their schools, and the reasons for such restructuring to occur.

Essentially all of the goals suggest additive approaches to school restructuring: things that will be done in addition to, rather than instead of, current practices or programs. This should not be surprising, given that almost every aspect of public education has some advocates who would object if their favored area were removed.

They also suggest voluntary participation by faculty. Other than presentations to faculties, most activities allow teachers to choose whether to participate in them or not. This appears to be necessary to allow enough consensus to develop for the grant applications to be endorsed by a critical mass of faculty. How those faculty who have not been actively involved in 2020 activities will respond when they are affected involuntarily, as when a school schedule is changed, remains to be confronted.

These goals have allowed 2020 schools to avoid overt conflict by pursuing a strategy of developing new approaches and strategies parallel with existing programs. This may be the only practical way to proceed in most schools. It does suggest serious limitations to the scope and pace of restructuring. It also leaves unanswered the issues of the specific elements of the school program that will eventually be removed or replaced, and the process that will be employed to accomplish this. This "day of reckoning" remains on the horizon.

The next chapter shifts the focus from the goals of the 2020 schools to the behaviors of principals and teachers in these schools. These behaviors provide insights into the process of participatory decision-making and facilitative leadership at the site level.

Chapter 4

School-Based Management in 2020 Schools

The devolution of decision-making to the work site is a trend to be found in most sectors of the economy where complex organizational structures have led to the rise of bureaucracy and the decline of employee initiative and institutional flexibility. Schools are no exception to this trend.

This movement, variously labeled as school-based management and site-based management, involves transferring decision-making responsibility in areas such as budget, personnel, and program to the school site in the hope that this flexibility will lead sites to define and solve problems more efficiently and to adapt their program to the needs of their clients (David 1989).

Preliminary evidence suggests that moving decision-making to the site alone will not necessarily result in improved schools. A review by Malen (1990) of 200 documents describing site-based management in the U.S., Canada, and Australia shows that this management style does not achieve its stated objectives to change school policy, broaden decision-making, and improve instruction or student achievement.

One missing ingredient seems to be teacher and community involvement in decision-making. This trend, often labeled participatory decision-making, parallels movements present in the larger society, where people are demanding greater control over their lives and their workplaces as they become more highly educated and develop broader views of their roles, both within organizations and society. The prodemocracy movements prevalent throughout much of the world are one example of this phenomenon, as are the increasing importance of referendum politics in the United States and the rapidly expanding participation of workers in decision-making.

The 2020 grants reflect this movement. Schools are required to include site committees—composed of teachers, administrators, and community

members—that must participate in developing grant goals and in planning specific school improvement and professional development activities (Oregon Department of Education 1990b). They are also required to describe the process by which the members of the committee were selected and to delineate the responsibilities of the committee. This structure helps promote broad-based involvement in decision-making and ownership of grant goals.

The existence of such decision-making structures is not an automatic guarantee of participatory decision-making, however. In a study of school site councils in Salt Lake City, Malen and Ogawa (1988) found that, despite the existence of highly favorable arrangements to enable and support the councils, teachers and parents did not wield significant influence on formal policy-making.

The 2020 site councils are different from many other experiments in site-based decision-making in that they have exclusive control over significant resources. The average number of full-time teachers (FTE) in a 2020 school is 31.7; at $1,000 per teacher, the average site receives more than $31,000. In public education, this is a sizeable amount of relatively unrestricted funds.

Given this carefully designed structure and the presence of enough resources to make the work of the committee potentially meaningful and influential within the school, an examination of how teachers in these schools perceive their sense of control over conditions of work and their involvement in decisions can provide valuable insights into the process of moving decision-making and resource allocation to the school-site level.

To accomplish this, structured interviews were conducted with teachers and administrators at fourteen 2020 schools. These schools were selected after a content analysis of site goals identified those with an emphasis on teacher collaboration and involvement in decision-making. The schools in this sample thus demonstrate an explicit commitment to enhancing teacher involvement in decision-making.

Interviews were conducted over a three-week period. Teachers interviewed were either the chair of the site committee or a committee member who had been centrally involved in the committee's functioning. Administrators interviewed were principals or assistant principals. In all cases except one, administrators were interviewed separately from teachers.

Each teacher and administrator was asked a series of parallel questions designed to assess current decision-making practices at the school and to determine the influence of the 2020 process on these practices. Some of the results of these interviews are incorporated in an abbreviated, summary form here. For a more detailed discussion of these issues, see Paul Goldman, Diane Dunlap, and David Conley (1991).

Responses clearly indicate that the 2020 process is helping to bring

about changes in decision-making practices. More significantly, this appears to be based on changes in the ways that power is exercised in the school. The roles and behaviors of principals and teachers are changing, as are their expectations of one another.

Principal Behavior in 2020 Schools

Principals in 2020 schools are serving as facilitators and developers, rather than bosses. They are involved in helping to create a common vision of the school, to model behaviors consistent with that vision, and to allocate resources and distribute information that helps the total school community move toward that vision.

Clear Sense of Purpose

The presence of this common sense of purpose or direction seems to be a key prerequisite for successful shared decision-making structures to emerge and function effectively. In essentially all the 2020 schools with goals related to collaboration and shared decision-making, there was a clear vision that was understood by all and articulated by most members of the school community. In one instance, two students waiting to see the principal due to some wrongdoing were asked by one of our interviewers who was also waiting for the principal if the school had a vision. Sure, they said, and repeated it with ease: "Yeah, everybody is always going on in this school about how every student can learn, and they all talk to each other, and our parents are in on it, and it is really hard to get away with anything!"

Vision-building in 2020 schools was sometimes achieved rapidly; in other cases it evolved over a period of perhaps several years. Many sites had previous experience with some form of school improvement, such as Onward to Excellence, that provided them with data about what was working and not working in their schools. The 2020 grant application process itself requires schools to develop comprehensive, data-driven profiles that include information on student outcomes, school characteristics and practices likely to affect student outcomes, school resources, and contextual variables (Oregon Department of Education 1990a).

Data on School Improvement

The presence of data appears to be important to the vision-building process. School staffs must see the need for improvement before they are willing to question the current mission seriously. One teacher described the role of data in helping staff to perceive a need to change:

> The big thing was to get people to look at the data. We were faced with the statement "it has always been this way" and we needed to get around that. I didn't think we were going to get anywhere, but the data helped a lot because they could no longer say something when the data was right in front of them and showed something different. So things slowly came around. They couldn't deny a problem.

While the profiles provide information about the current state of the school, other data sources were needed for a new vision to develop. When schools concentrated only on how to improve what they were currently doing, the focus was on better standardized achievement test scores or new programs that dealt with a particular problem but did not affect the school at large. What was needed was a broader perspective on the ways in which schools are reshaping themselves, and the ends toward which they are striving.

In 2020 schools, principals frequently take the role of disseminators of information. They attend conferences, read voraciously, discuss ideas with colleagues, and copy articles and distribute them to the faculty. They encourage an examination of current practices and assumptions and the development of new ideas. One teacher commented that he had a three-ring binder three inches thick completely full with articles and other information on educational ideas and innovations distributed by the principal.

Resource Allocation

These principals allocate resources such as money, space, scheduling, and personnel in ways that help achieve the vision. These actions are not perceived as being "top-down" when staff have developed and endorsed a mission. In 2020 schools, principals have created common prep times, team meeting times, opportunities for peer observations. They have moved personnel around in school buildings to create space for new programs, and they have reallocated staffing to support specific 2020 goals.

In these cases, the resources provided by the 2020 grant have had an influence far beyond the actual dollars; there has been a multiplier effect. The grant has helped schools begin to transform themselves. In this setting, the principal skillfully rearranges the material resources to support the vision, but does it in a way that encourages staff support for change rather than creating resentment and hostility.

Broadening of Decision-Making

The existence and acceptance of the vision by the school community seems to be allowing principals to accept, or promote, changes in traditional decision-making structures. Typically, existing faculty groups or councils are consulted more and are more actively involved in decision-making, whereas

previously the principal might have made a decision alone or after consultations with selected teachers. There is a greater use of ad hoc committees and task forces comprised of teachers and community members, charged with very specific tasks and empowered to make decisions and take action.

In addition to formal groups, principals encourage the formation and functioning of numerous informal groups. These groups help develop new ideas or provide support for staff members of like mind. Such groups provide an "incubator" for new ideas, a place where issues are examined, assumptions challenged, and support offered for those who may not be received as positively by their peers. In this setting, informal consensus about the need for fundamental change often develops. Ultimately, this helps reshape the culture of the school and provides the environment necessary for shared decision-making to function effectively.

Supporting these groups is an important dimension of creating a culture of collaboration, as demonstrated by this principal's comments:

> I used to work more at getting people to go into positions when I thought they were ready. Now, people choose their own goals and move through the positions and committees with less direction from me. The current group, for example, is not a team I would have chosen for school leadership, but they are working hard to become as informed as they can be—the best informed in the building—and they are doing fine.

> I am more comfortable working with whoever comes along. Part of that is the maturity of the process, part is the maturity of the staff as a group, and part of that is me. I've developed. Now I talk with people about the difference between being congenial and being collegial.

Principals use their positions to shape decision-making in many ways. In addition to devolving responsibility to formal and informal groups, principals work skillfully and deliberately to keep the process moving and keep teachers on track in achieving the goals they have set for themselves. One principal described his role and that of his administrative team in helping teachers achieve their goals:

> We try to get them to do the things they say they want to do. Our role has shifted. We're not doing it. We don't own the task any more. We need to constantly remind them because this is new behavior for them. You remind them they have money to manage, suggesting, not telling them, how they might go about this. There's a lot of coaching that goes on with the committees.

The 2020 grants are providing opportunities for teachers and administrators alike to practice new attempts at decision-making. Some of these are successful; some are not. There are few places in public education where such experimentation can occur. These opportunities are important, since one

cannot train people to make decisions or work collaboratively in the absence of real opportunities and needs to do so. The 2020 grants not only allow, but compel, the development of such skills.

Support for Teachers

Principals provide information about how to function in a bureaucracy. They help teachers to navigate the sometimes treacherous shoals of the district bureaucracy. This is not easy for teachers, who may not necessarily have a sense of their role in the larger system, as the following quote from a principal indicates:

> Teachers were never involved in finance decision before. The committee is getting better at knowing what "hoops" to jump through. They have had to learn not only laws and regulations, but also district policies. They are getting more sophisticated about the district's bureaucracy. They made horrendous mistakes, but the district has been very forgiving. It can be a bureaucratic nightmare. The committee thought that if the site committee decided something, it would be approved. That was not the case. They have been very frustrated with the "hoops."

Principals also provide information about how the school functions internally: how money is allocated, what resources are available, how decisions are made regarding staffing or class load. By moving these issues into the public light, suspicion is decreased. At the same time, the quality of teacher decision-making is enhanced when they can see the impact of their decision on other aspects of the school, or can suggest solutions that acknowledge the complexity of the institution.

In schools where collaboration is becoming the norm, principals model behaviors that indicate their belief in the importance of shared decision-making in a variety of ways. This public demonstration of belief in the efficacy of teachers as decision-makers helps sustain and encourage teacher involvement in decision-making. Several quotes from 2020 principals indicate how they model this support:

> *Principal A*: I try to do whatever I can do to remove barriers to successful implementation. I'm constantly asking ways to do this. Every agenda of every meeting has [an agenda item from me] on barriers [to implementation]. I also refuse to be deferred to as the principal. If someone wants clarification, o.k., but otherwise I say, "You had probably better talk to the chair of the committee about that." I try to redirect the question so it does not come to me but to the responsible person or committee. That is important. Ego can impede the outcomes. You have to be ready to let go, and keep on letting to, so others know that they are really in charge of something and really take responsibility for it.

Principal B: I think I am very good at supporting other people and I also model myself the kinds of behaviors that lead to increased collaboration. I think different things can happen with different people and I try to model it myself—continuing to learn in different ways.

Principal C: I am part of all the meetings, all the committees, but I don't chair them. I share research with teachers. I guess the building kind of knows where I'm coming from because I'm around. I talk with them a lot. I use our vision statement when talking with teachers; I link everything back to that, so teachers know where I'm coming from. They know what's important to me.

Another aspect of developing shared decision-making was what principals did less. One consistent theme among the study sample was that principals stepped out of direct leadership roles and took on support roles that helped teachers make decisions. Some examples from principals:

Principal A: You have to be real careful because there's a great ability to force things on people [when you're in a facilitative mode]. So I find myself backing off a lot more. At some points I can even share an idea and people will go, "yeah," and I don't want them to do that, so I have to be real careful. I probably do less floating of ideas out there. When you're in a high-intense change mode, the last thing you want to hear is some new idea.

Principal B: I just let them go and try to keep up, and keep things going, and help them become realistic about where the whole staff is going.

Principal C: I try to be a facilitator, cheerleader, reminder—to go to meetings. I meet with the chairs, I listen a lot and try to keep my mouth shut.

Principal D: I'm part of the management team. I don't block, but I'm free to express my opinion. We all are free to share our feelings about things. I'm open and honest, so when it comes to making a decision that's important to them, they can make the decision because we've developed a high degree of trust. I think the trust is key. It goes both ways.

Teacher Roles in 2020 Schools

The roles of teachers in 2020 schools are changing, as well as the behaviors of principals. There is a proliferation of new roles for teachers to occupy, in which they can develop new skills, perceptions, and relationships with their peers. The increased interaction among colleagues alone causes many changes in teacher behavior. They must work together to write the

grant, since the task is too large for any one individual to attempt alone.

The requirement of a site committee creates another setting where interaction occurs. As teachers develop ideas and submit them to the site committee, further discussion about instructional beliefs, mission, and vision is generated. The 2020 grant creates real reasons for teachers to talk together about instructional issues.

As noted earlier, training in various instructional techniques is the most prevalent form of 2020 activity. Teachers are very involved in the identification, selection, and organization of the topics and content of much of this training. In other goal areas, such as teacher collaboration and interdisciplinary curriculum, teachers work together in teams, observe one another in the classroom, and develop recommendations that are brought to the whole faculty for discussion.

The importance of vision has been noted earlier. Teachers are centrally involved in the development of vision in several ways. They have visited other schools and programs and brought the information back to their faculties for discussion. They have organized seminars, colloquia, and symposia where issues such as the skills of the work force in the twenty-first century were the focus. They have created opportunities for teachers to visit entrepreneurial businesses to help them develop perspectives on alternatives to the traditional bureaucratic structure of schools. They have attended conferences and brought back information, and sometimes consultants, that reflect the most current thought in areas of interest to the school.

New Roles and Behaviors

New roles for teachers abound. What separates these roles from other programs such as mentor teachers is that they arise based on needs in the school and may disappear when the need is met. Often they are based around the personality or interests of a teacher or group of teachers. This strategy, which Devaney (1987) describes as an "empty socket" approach to leadership development, allows for the creation of unique roles that can be adapted and modified based on the needs and culture of each individual school. This encourages the total school community to be involved in the definition of the position and helps ensure its acceptance.

Teacher relationships with their peers are taking on new complexity. Teachers in 2020 schools seek to model new behaviors and actively encourage others to innovate, or at the least not to sabotage. This is accomplished not through directive behavior but through a variety of techniques, some of which involve risk taking, as noted by this teacher:

> I think that I model and encourage a high standard. And that can backfire. People can get real angry with you. They say "you're

working too hard," meaning "I don't feel good about what you're doing because it makes me not feel good about what I'm doing."

This same teacher went on to explain how she contributes to the success of the grant through what she has identified as her strengths:

> I'm good at looking at the big picture and saying "Here's where we want to go, so here are the different steps we need to take care of to get there." And I think that I can articulate that pretty well to people, so that we reach a common agreement and then we all move and do it. I don't see myself doing everything, but I think I can see the pieces, maybe help others see them when they're confused.

Increased Efficacy and Satisfaction

The 2020 grants are creating a greater sense of efficacy and control by teachers based on their ability to influence the conditions of their work environment. There is ample evidence (Bacharach and others 1990) to suggest that "when the professional expectations of teachers for participation exceed current opportunities in the school, teachers report more dissatisfaction, more stress, and less loyalty to the principal" (Sharon Conley 1991, p. 232). Teachers in 2020 schools appear to be exerting more control over decision-making and experiencing an expanded sense of participation, and they are more satisfied as a result:

> It has offered me a challenge and opportunity to be involved where I never was before in new and exciting activities. I'm more motivated. I am growing. This is an exciting time for me as a teacher—I am reinvigorated. This is an exciting time for me as a professional, when some of the research says I should be experiencing burnout or rustout.

This increased sense of excitement and energy seems to be having an impact on teachers' instructional practices, as well, as illustrated by these teachers' comments:

> *Teacher A*: This year, [for example,] I look back at the science instruction I've done and I have been more excited about everything I'm doing than I have been in years. The teaching is an indirect effect, but there it is. I do more demonstrations. I wrote a new lab book and I hadn't done that in years. There is a freshness that I can't quantify. This is more invigorating, more emotional, but I know people who would... feel imposed upon to do what I do—and I can understand that. Not everyone is from the same mold. But [this is great for me] and I like this.

> *Teacher B*: The biggest thing is trying things I haven't tried before. I know that what I've always done produces x results. If I felt discomfort with those results, I'm not going to get different results unless I

> try something different. The vision suggests differences that would require me to make shifts, one of the reasons I'm trying the [teacher-led class of teachers looking at curricular connections]. I'm exhausted at the end of each day, yet on the other hand, I see some real pluses that speak to the kinds of things we're trying to get to with the vision.

Positive Early Results

This link to practice is one that is missing in many reform efforts. Laws are passed, training programs are developed, but little change occurs or is retained at the level of the classroom. Policy-makers find this frustrating, and educational commentators refer to schools as being "change resistant, not change persistent." At least in the 2020 schools that we examined, it appears as if significant change can occur when teachers are afforded substantial ownership of and participation in the process, from beginning to end, and that the changes that result do seem to have an impact at the level of instruction and teacher-student interactions.

While the long-term staying power of these changes still remains to be ascertained, it is nonetheless impressive to observe how far some of these schools have come in a short time in their ability to question fundamental assumptions and practices. Had many of the questions raised or programs suggested by the teachers in these 2020 schools been initiated by the central office or the state department of education, there would likely have been a singularly negative reaction by teachers.

These schools highlight both the promising practices and the pitfalls that are present in a decentralized process of change and experimentation. The following chapter contains a discussion of some of these potential pitfalls, with recommendations on how to avoid them when possible.

Chapter 5

Pitfalls of Restructuring

The following nine pitfalls to avoid in restructuring were gleaned from the examination of the 2020 schools described in this paper, combined with additional observations collected while working with individual 2020 schools on specific projects.

Lack of a Vision

Many schools approach restructuring from a piecemeal approach, developing a series of fragmented activities that respond to specific concerns, often those held by a vocal minority of the faculty or based on the latest trends or techniques in vogue. Kirst (1991) describes this as "project-itis."

The importance of some form of common agreement about where the school is going and why cannot be stressed enough. The lack of "tight coupling" in schools means it is especially important for teachers to have a shared sense of purpose and direction, since so many of the decisions they make are made in isolation. A common mission helps align the efforts of everyone in the school toward agreed-upon ends, and, as a byproduct, reduces resistance among the nonbelievers who find themselves at odds with norms and goals established by their colleagues.

The Time Trap

There is never enough time in education. It is easy for a faculty to become sidetracked on one issue and spend most of their time spinning their wheels trying to resolve it. Successful schools use the vision to direct their energies toward activities that will yield the most significant changes and improvements. At the same time they acknowledge that it takes time to implement most new practices, usually a period of several years, and that

during the implementation phase there may be a time when efficiency and performance actually decrease. This period, dubbed the "implementation dip" by Fullan (1990), can be a critical time. Teachers will tend to return to the tried and true ways when new techniques do not go smoothly. Collegial support seems to be a key ingredient to getting people over the "implementation dip."

One other element of the time trap is the tendency to burn out the motivated people, those who emerge to fill newly created leadership roles. They become emotionally invested in the vision and work exceedingly hard to turn it into a reality. They are at risk of being overwhelmed by the combination of regular work responsibilities, new duties, and ongoing family obligations. Care must be exercised to ensure that these people have the time necessary to be successful and that they are encouraged to take a break from time to time. One way to accomplish this is to continue to spread leadership roles around, and use newly developing feelings of colleagueship to encourage the sharing of responsibilities and tasks.

Proceeding without the Community

It is very easy for educators to overlook their community when they undertake change. After all, the professionalization of education over the past eighty years has effectively created barriers for parent and community involvement and has reinforced the idea that educators "know what's best" for kids. We are finding that this must change, that schools cannot proceed without the involvement and at least tacit support of the community.

One interesting lesson being learned is that in some communities it is the parents of those students who are the current "winners" in the educational system who are the most upset about change. This stands to reason, though it is often overlooked when school restructuring projects are being developed. These parents can be very influential politically. The comments of one parent indicate their concerns:

> "We're just not not about to let our children be experimented upon," said Richard Fruland, parent of a student at Parkway South High School, Manchester, Missouri. "We've got parents who feel the school is exemplary now, that it does an absolutely wonderful job of preparing children and educating them for the future." Whatever changes are needed amount to "fine tuning." (Olson 1990)

Schools undertaking restructuring must be willing to create a sense of urgency for change, both among faculty and community. Once again, the development of a vision helps to create a clearer sense of why change is occurring and toward what ends it is directed. Community members should

be involved in the process of vision building, and the vision should be communicated to parents on a regular basis at meetings, through publications, and in face-to-face interchanges.

Questions of Meaning

The lack of a common definition of the term *restructuring* has been both a blessing and a curse: a blessing in that it has allowed groups as disparate at teachers unions and school board associations to make common cause, at least in principle; a curse in that almost anyone can do almost anything and claim they are "restructuring." And they have done so. This lack of precision has tended to devalue the term and had led many teachers to view it with a mixture of caution and cynicism.

Our observations in selected 2020 schools (Goldman and others 1991) suggest that teachers and administrators in these schools do not spend a great deal of time debating the meaning of terms such as restructuring; they do, however, have a commonly understood set of assumptions about the importance of changes that go beyond the superficial. This understanding expands and is honed as concrete issues of practice are confronted, analyzed, and resolved. They build their definition of restructuring "on the fly" and modify it the same way. It is one measure of the colleagueship present in these schools that they have working definitions of many important concepts that are developed through a series of formal and informal interactions and that continue to develop and evolve over time.

Rose-Colored Glasses Syndrome

Too many schools seriously underestimate the difficulty of bringing about substantial change of the type implied through the term *restructuring*. Particularly when restructuring is viewed as a series of projects, it is common for principals in particular to miscalculate the amount of time and energy necessary to achieve meaningful, sustained change. Many also underestimate the amount of resistance such a process engenders. Perhaps this is why there are many schools describing themselves as having "restructured," when to the view of an outsider no substantial change is apparent.

Governance as an End in Itself

The burst of literature on site-based management and decentralized decision-making that appeared in the late eighties led many to believe that

structural changes in decision-making alone would be the magic "silver bullet" that would transform education, unleashing its pentup potential for improvement. This remains an unsupported assumption.

Instead, many faculties have bogged down in the minutiae of participatory decision-making, without any clear goal in mind for it (Strauber and others 1990). In many cases site-based management was a solution in search of a problem; in the absence of real reasons for teachers to make decisions and of substantial resources for them to control, these new structures became sidetracked in maintenance issues and concerns over quality of teacher work life. Changes in governance structure should be undertaken to achieve program goals that cannot be achieved with the current structure.

Measuring New Learning with Old Tools

This is a difficult problem at this point in the restructuring movement. There is general agreement that the current measures of student learning are both inadequate and inappropriate for restructured educational environments with new goals and standards. However, it is extremely hard psychologically and practically for educators to abandon traditional testing systems. The result is that as schools attempt to recreate themselves, they continue to measure their effectiveness and success against the old benchmarks and with the old tools.

Development of alternative assessment technologies is proceeding in numerous states and under the sponsorship of a number of organizations. Within the next several years many of these methods will be available. As they arrive online, educators will be challenged to discard the old techniques. Accomplishing this will require extensive education of teachers and community members. For those schools actively engaged in restructuring, they must reconcile themselves to surviving during this phase when their programs are under the greatest scrutiny without the benefit of the means to demonstrate their successes or learn from their failures.

Analysis Paralysis

One of the striking features of the current interest in school restructuring is the number of schools that have established "restructuring committees" or some other form of organization to investigate this phenomenon. Many, perhaps most, of these committees are composed of teachers who are excited by the prospects for change. They read articles, discuss and debate, meet with experts and consultants, and visit other schools. They analyze their own school, conduct interviews, surveys, and trend analyses. They develop a very

good understanding of the issues and options associated with school restructuring.

The moment of truth arrives when it is time for the faculty to react to the recommendations, or observations, of this committee. Will they act, or will they choose to continue the study process? Very often faculties demand more information or study before agreeing to any changes. The net result is to study the situation to death. The energy and enthusiasm for change dissipates before meaningful change is undertaken. The storm subsides and the school continues along the path of the status quo, with its rationale for *not* changing firmly intact.

Isolating the Innovators

The previous pitfall illustrates the difficulty innovators have in traditional school settings. While some are frustrated by being trapped in the "analysis loop," others are controlled by directing their energies to one program or area of the building where they are quite literally segregated from the rest of the faculty. This is seen most often in the form of schools-within-schools or special programs, generally for at-risk students. These arrangements allow the appearance of a changed structure while preserving the core of the academic program untouched.

A strong argument can be made for using these separate programs as a sort of "research and development" environment within schools, where new ideas can be tried, refined, and modeled for the rest of the faculty. This strategy will work only in places where there is agreement by all faculty that the lessons learned in these "lab" settings will be applied to the total school program eventually. Getting such an agreement is generally not an easy task. Most teachers are content to allow their colleagues to engage in experiments, so long as they are not compelled to change as a result of such experiments.

Table 4 contains a summary of recommendations to help avoid these nine pitfalls.

If restructuring is to occur, it must be clear that the work of innovative, "pioneering" teachers must have an effect on the total school program eventually. If not, these pioneers will soon become burned out, as occurred in the alternative schools movement of the seventies, and the traditional structure of the school will soon reassert itself throughout the total program.

Kirst (1991), in his analysis of restructuring efforts across the country, echoes many of the elements of the preceding list and includes some additional "pitfalls" to consider:

1. No linkage of action to curriculum and instruction is present.
2. School-based management is often seen as equivalent to

Table 4
Recommendations to Avoid Pitfalls of Restructuring

1. Develop a common vision.
2. Provide adequate time.
3. Involve the community at every step.
4. Develop a common understanding of the meaning of basic terms and definitions.
5. Be realistic about the difficulties and challenges.
6. Develop governance changes as means to an end, not as ends in themselves.
7. Develop or identify new assessment strategies simultaneous with new programs and prepare to employ them concurrently.
8. Study and examine issues carefully, but be committed to implement the results of the study process.
9. Make sure strategies will lead to total school implementation eventually.

restructuring, rather than a component of the overall plan.

3. Restructured schools do not include basic structural and organizational changes and revised roles for the school, district, staff and parents. "People have school-based management, but it's still the same old school."
4. Accountability still focuses on procedures, not results. Assessment should focus on measuring value goals instead of low-level basic skills.
5. Links with social and health services agencies, colleges and universities and vocational programs are often not included in the restructuring plan.
6. Restructuring is seen as just a school site responsibility, and not the responsibility of the entire system.
7. Statewide restructuring plans continue to offer awards and sanctions to schools based on their performance on low-level skills tests.
8. The success or failure of restructuring is assessed too quickly. Restructuring takes a long time—5-7 years.
9. Many states are bypassing central office and going only to schools, seeing it as a school-based enterprise.

10. Restructuring often suffers from "project-itis," where it is seen as an outside additional project, rather than a comprehensive effort. (p. 1)

These observations on the pitfalls of restructuring represent early and tentative conclusions. They do suggest that most of what is being labelled as restructuring might better be categorized as "tinkering." Ultimately, restructuring is a high-risk, high-stakes activity that is alien to public schools unaccustomed and unequipped culturally to deal with rapid upheaval, reallocation of resources, redistribution of power, and reformulation of values. The early pioneers are learning these lessons.

There are some some general observations that can be made about what these pioneers are learning and what they can teach us. These are contained in the following chapter.

Conclusion

Oregon's 2020 schools provide an excellent laboratory in which to examine the issues involved in attempting to restructure schools and to move to more participatory models of decision-making. In a separate, though related study of 2020 schools, Goldman and others (1991) reached the following conclusions about the apparent success of 2020 schools in overcoming the barriers to change that so often stop other schools:

> Effective change clearly goes beyond restructuring and site-based management. Our initial pessimism about the probability of successful change was heavily influenced by the substantial literature on the difficulty of comprehensive change in schools (Berman and McLaughlin 1978, Cuban 1984, Fullan 1985, Kirst 1991, Malen 1990, Sarason 1971).
>
> However, over our months of time spent in these creative schools, talking to energized staff and students, we began to look at that extensive literature in new ways. We began to wonder if a very important, and very basic, first step had often been missed in earlier attempts to change schools.
>
> *That important first step was present in every one of these projects. They were started by informal groups of staff who had something they wanted to do, believed that they could do it with some additional resources, had a principal who supported their efforts or created the conditions that favored the development of their ideas, and encountered a minimum of bureaucratic interference in spending their dollars in the way they saw fit.*
>
> In short, the teachers and the principals in these successful projects chose to act, and were allowed to do so, with minimal interference. Instead of failures, the high skills, high levels of motivation, and high energies directed toward the projects yielded unique successes. Our pessimism is now optimism that small dollars can yield big outcomes—at least in those sites where staff are ready, the principal is

supportive, some "vision" is shared, and the system does not get in the way. (p. 35)

These conclusions suggest that change is possible in education, but will be difficult for policy-makers to control, except in the broadest brush strokes. If there is general acceptance of the notion of teachers as decision-makers and professionals who must control the conditions of their work, then policy can be shaped to allow them to make the best decisions possible and to hold them accountable for the outcomes of those decisions. If this notion is not accepted, the alternative is to treat teachers as laborers, craftspeople, or technicians and to continue to view schools as bureaucracies, in much the same form as the postal service or any other state governmental unit. This decision will lead to an increase in prescriptive solutions dependent on teachers and principals doing what they are told by those in a position to know what's best for them.

The decision to devolve decision-making authority to schools is one that must be weighed carefully in Oregon, particularly at a time when the financial control of schools is moving decisively from the local to the state level. Lawmakers generally expect to exercise control in direct proportion to funds provided. This expectation is a reflection of their role as guardians of public resources and is understandable. At the same time, it is clear that schools presently need much more room to make decisions, not less.

These initial attempts at restructuring and participatory decision-making still have a long way to go to prove themselves and to change education in fundamental, pervasive, and long-term ways. A great deal of nurturing and additional experimentation needs to be supported, along with intensive evaluation, feedback, refinement, and dissemination. Initial results suggest that, under the proper circumstances, restructuring and participatory decision-making can occur at the site level in partnership with and under the guidance of a state-level program.

When teachers, parents, administrators, community members, and students can work together to rethink education, the results can be impressive. These 2020 schools provide some initial insights into how this process can function in certain settings that invest all constituents with authority and responsibility and that expect them to create a better educational product.

Appendix
Addresses of 1990-91
H.B. 2020 Schools

The following schools received H.B. 2020 grants for the 1990-91 school year. Of these fifty-one schools, fourteen (indicated by asterisks) specified goals that emphasized teacher collaboration and involvement in decision-making. This study involved content analysis of all the schools' goals and interviews with staff members of the subgroup of fourteen schools. The schools' addresses are provided here for those who wish to contact personnel at these sites. School districts are indicated in boldface.

Ashland School District 5
Ashland Middle School
100 Walker Ave
Ashland, OR 97520

Beaverton School District 48
*Aloha High School
SW 185th Ave & Kinnaman Rd
Beaverton, OR 97005

Bend-LaPine District 1
Pilot Butte Junior High School
1501 NE Penn St
Bend, OR 97701-4198

Carus School District 29
Carus Elementary School
14412 S Carus Rd
Oregon City, OR 97045-9535

Centennial School District 28J
*Centennial High School
3505 SE 182nd Ave
Gresham, OR 97030-5097

Central Point School District 6
Crater High School
4410 Rogue Valley Blvd
Central Point, OR 97502-1697

Patrick Elementary School
1500 2nd Ave
Gold Hill, OR 97525-9728

Creswell School District 40
*Creswell Middle School
655 W Oregon Ave
Creswell, OR 97426

Crook County School District
Ochoco Elementary School
900 Madras Hwy
Prineville, OR 97754-1496

David Douglas School District 40
Gilbert Park Elementary School
13132 SE Ramona St
Portland, OR 97236

Eugene School District 4J
Cal Young Middle School
2555 Gilham Rd
Eugene, OR 97401-1698

*Howard Elementary School
700 Howard Ave
Eugene, OR 97404-2798

*North Eugene High School
200 Silver Ln
Eugene, OR 97404-2299

*Sheldon High School
2455 Willakenzie Rd
Eugene, OR 97401-4898

*Theodore Roosevelt Middle School
680 E 24th Ave
Eugene, OR 97405-2977

*Westmoreland Elementary School
1717 City View St
Eugene, OR 97402-3499

Fern Ridge School District 28J
Elmira Elementary School
88960 Territorial Rd
Elmira, OR 97437-9752

Ferndale School District 10
Pleasant View Middle School
Rt 2, Box 314
Milton-Freewater, OR 97862-9715

Gresham Grade School District 4
Powell Valley Elementary School
4825 E Powell Valley Rd
Gresham, OR 97080-1951

Helix School District 1
Griswold High School
PO Box 398
Helix, OR 97835-0398

Helix Elementary School
PO Box 398
Helix, OR 97835-0398

Hillsboro Union High School 3J
Glencoe High School
2700 NW Glencoe Rd
Hillsboro, OR 97124

Josephine County School District
Illinois Valley High School
River St & Laurel Rd
Cave Junction, OR 97523

Lorna Byrne Middle School
101 S Junction Ave
Cave Junction, OR 97523

Junction City School District 69
*Oaklea Middle School
1515 Rose St
Junction City, OR 97448

Klamath County School District
Chiloquin High School
PO Box 397
Chiloquin, OR 97624

Klamath Falls Union High School District 2
Mazama Senior High School
3009 Summers Ln
Klamath Falls, OR 97603-6799

Lake Oswego School District 7J
Hallinan Elementary School
16800 Hawthorne Dr
Lake Oswego, OR 97034

Newberg District 29J
Mabel Rush Elementary School
1400 Deborah Rd
Newberg, OR 97132

North Clakamas School District 12
Whitcomb Elementary School
7400 SE Thompson Rd
Milwaukie, OR 97222-1967

Nyssa School District 26
Nyssa Elementary School
1 N 7th St
Nyssa, OR 97913-3689

Ontario School District 8
Lindbergh Elementary School
482 SE 3rd St
Ontario, OR 97914

Oregon School for the Deaf
999 Locust St NE
Salem, OR 97303

Orient School District 6J
West Orient Elementary School
29805 SE Orient Dr
Gresham, OR 97080

Parkrose School District 3
Shaver Elementary School
3701 NE 131st Pl
Portland, OR 97230-2868

Pendleton School District 16
Lincoln Elementary School
107 NW 10th St
Pendleton, OR 97801-1599

Pilot Rock School District 2
Pilot Rock Elementary School
Vern McGowan Dr
PO Box A
Pilot Rock, OR 97868-0020

Portland Public School District 1J
Arleta Elementary School
5800 SE Division St
Portland, OR 97206

Rufus School District 3
Rufus Elementary School
PO Box 28
Rufus, OR 97050-0038

Salem-Keizer School District 24J
Grant Elementary School
725 Market St NE
Salem, OR 97301-1198

Highland Elementary School
530 Highland Ave NE
Salem, OR 97303-6899

Sprague High School
2373 Kuebler Rd S
Salem, OR 97301-9404

Waldo Middle School
2805 Lansing Ave NE
Salem, OR 97303-1599

Sheridan School District 48J
Faulconer Elementary School
339 NW Sherman St
Sheridan, OR 97378

Sherwood School District 88J
Sherwood Intermediate School
400 N Sherwood Blvd
Sherwood, OR 97140

South Lane School District 45J3
*Delight Valley Elementary School
79980 Delight Valley School Rd
Cottage Grove, OR 97424-9595

*Harrison Elementary School
S 10th St at Harrison Ave
Cottage Grove, OR 97424-2599

Spray School District 1
Spray Elementary School
PO Box 230
Spray, OR 97874-0230

Vale School District 15
Vale Elementary School
403 "E" St W
Vale, OR 97918-1349

Washington County Education Service District
*Washington County ESD
17705 NW Springville Rd
Portland, OR 97229-1707

West Linn School District 3J
Wilsonville Elementary School
30275 SW Boones Ferry Rd
Wilsonville, OR 97070

Yamhill School District 16
Yamhill Elementary School
PO Box 188
Yamhill, OR 97148

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